

## Message Text

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ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05  
H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02  
SS-15 ICA-11 HA-05 NEA-11 ARA-10 ACDA-12 EB-08  
TRSE-00 OMB-01 XMB-02 ( ISO ) W  
-----124561 191124Z /17

R 190815Z JUN 78  
FM AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9237  
INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK  
USMISSION GENEVA  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 ABIDJAN 5788

E.O. 11652: NGDS  
TAGS: SHUM, PORG, UNGA, IV  
SUBJECT: VISIT OF DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY DALLEY  
AND MS. HOLLOWAY AND PRE UNGA CONSULTATIONS

1. SUMMARY: DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY DALLEY, MS.  
HOLLOWAY AND EMBASSY OFFICERS MET WITH FOREIGN OFFICE  
DEPUTY DIRECTORS AND COUNTRY DIRECTORS FOR NORTH AMERICA-  
EUROPE, MIDDLE EAST, AFRICA AND UN AFFAIRS. VIEWS  
WERE EXCHANGED ON SOUTHERN AFRICAN ISSUES - APARTHEID,  
NAMIBIA, RHODESIA - HUMAN RIGHTS, PUERTO RICO, CON-  
FERENCE ON RACISM AND THE MIDDLE EAST. INVORIAN OF-  
FICIALS STATED THAT THEY WERE VERY PLEASED USG HAD  
SENT WASHINGTON OFFICIALS TO CONSULT WITH THE GOIC,  
THAT THEY HOPED IT WOULD NOT BE THE LAST TIME AND THAT  
GOIC LOOKED FORWARD TO A FRIENDLY AND PRODUUCTIVE CO-  
OPERATION BETWEEN OUR DELEGATIONS IN NEW YORK DURING  
THE NEXT UNGA.  
END SUMMARY

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2. DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY DALLEY BEGAIN THE DIS-  
CUSSION BY STATING PURPOSE OF VISIT WAS TO CONSULT ON  
SPECIFIC ISSUES PRIOR TO NEXT UNGA, UNESCO GENERAL  
CONFERENCE IN PARIS AND THE NEXT SESSION OF THE UNCHR IN  
ORDER TO ASSIST COOPERATION AND COORDINATION BETWEEN  
OUR TWO DELEGATIONS IN NEW YORK, PARIS AND GENEVA. SENIOR  
IVORIAN OFFICIAL PRESENT, DEPUTY DIRECTOR FOR POLITICAL

AFFAIRS, WELCOMED DALLEY AND HOLLOWAY, EXPRESSED PLEASURE OF GOIC FOR OPPORTUNITY TO CONSULT WITH US AND EXPRESSED HOPE THIS WOULD NOT BE THE LAST TIME WASHINGTON OFFICIALS WOULD COME TO ABIDJAN FOR CONSULTATIONS.

3. STATING THAT A VERY IMPORTANT ELEMENT IN U.S. POLICY IN AFRICA WAS OUR CONSULTATIONS WITH AFRICAN STATES, DALLEY AND HOLLOWAY BEGAN SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSIONS WITH AN EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON SOUTHERN AFRICAN ISSUES:

4. ON NAMIBIA: DALLEY STATED THERE HAD BEEN IMPORTANT PROGRESS ON NAMIBIA IN THE PAST YEAR ON THE BASIS OF THE PROPOSALS OF THE FIVE WESTERN MEMBERS OF THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL. PROGRESS HAD BEEN ARRESTED BY THE REPREEHENSIBLE SOUTH AFRICAN ATTACK ON THE SWAPO CAMP IN ANGOLA. NOW, HOWEVER, SWAPO HAS AGREED TO RESUME NEGOTIATIONS. HOLLOWAY ADDED NEGOTIATIONS WOULD FOCUS ON THE TWO ISSUES THAT HAD BEEN UNRESOLVED AT THE TIME SOUTH AFRICA ATTACKED ANGOLA: (A) THE FUTURE OF WALVIS BAY, AND (B) THE LOCATION OF THE RESIDUAL SOUTH AFRICAN FORCE. WE WERE HOPEFUL NEGOTIATIONS WOULD SUCCEED AND ASKED THAT GOIC CONTINUE TO SUPPORT NEGOTIATIONS BY ENCOURAGING SWAPO TOWARDS A SETTLEMENT THAT OFFERED THE BEST AND MOST IMMEDIATE POSSIBILITY FOR THE ATTAINMENT OF MAJORITY RULE IN  
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NAMIBIA.

5. DEPUTY DIRECTOR FOR AFRICAN AFFAIRS REPLIED GOIC BELIEVED THAT ON NAMIBIA, AS ON ALL ISSUES, EVOLUTIONARY SOLUTIONS THROUGH DIALOGUE WAS THE WAY TO PROCEED. GOIC SUPPORTED PROPOSALS AND PROCEDURES OF THE NAMIBIA CONTACT GROUP. HE STRESSED THAT THERE MUST BE FREE ELECTIONS IN NAMIBIA BECAUSE, AMONG OTHER REASONS, SWAPO DOES NOT REPRESENT EVERYONE, AND SAID THAT A UN FORCE SHOULD SUPERVISE ELECTIONS AND THAT THERE SHOULD BE NO DOUBT BUT THAT WALVIS BAY WAS PART OF NAMIBIA.

6. ON RHODESIA: DALLEY STATED OUR COMMITMENT AND INVOLVEMENT REMAINS UNDIMINISHED AND THAT WE CONTINUE TO BELIEVE US-UK PROPOSALS FORM THE BEST BASIS FOR A SETTLEMENT. HOLLOWAY ADDED WE DO NOT BELIEVE THE INTERNAL ACCORD PROVIDES THE BASIS FOR AN PERMANENT SETTLEMENT. WE ARE CONTINUING OUR EFFORTS TO BRING ALL OF THE NATIONALIST GROUPS INCLUDING THE PATRIOTIC FRONT TO ROUND TABLE TALKS.

7. DEPUTY DIRECTOR FOR AFRICAN AFFAIRS STATED GOIC

SUPPORTS US-UK PROPOSALS AND ADDED INTERNAL ACCORD  
WOULD REMAIN UNWORKABLE UNTIL IT INVOLVED ALL THE  
PARTIES. HE ASKED WHAT SPECIFIC THINGS THE U.S. WAS  
DOING TO BRING ALL PARTIES TO A CONFERENCE.

8. HOLLOWAY REPLIED U.S. AND GREAT BRITAIN, REPRESENTED  
BY U.S. AMBASSADOR TO ZAMBIA STEPHEN LOW AND BRITISH FOREIGN  
MINISTRY OFFICIAL JOHN GRAHAM, WERE NOW IN THE PROCESS  
OF EXTENSIVE CONSULTATIONS AND THAT WE WOULD HAVE A GOOD  
IDEA OF WHAT THE NEXT PRACTICAL STEPS SHOULD BE AFTER  
TWO MONTHS OR SO. THE FOUR PRINCIPAL ELEMENTS BEING  
DISCUSSED WERE: (1) THE CONSTITUTION, (2) THE TRANSITION  
OF POWER, (3) THE NATURE AND CONTROL OF THE ARMED FORCES,  
AND (4) THE SIZE AND THE ROLE OF UN PEACE KEEPING FORCE.  
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H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02  
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R 190815Z JUN 78  
FM AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9238  
INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK  
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AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 ABIDJAN 5788

9. ON APARTHEID IN SOUTH AFRICA DALLEY AND HOLLOWAY  
STATED THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION HAD MADE IT PERFECTLY  
CLEAR THAT WE WERE OPPOSED TO APARTHEID. THEY ADDED  
U.S. HAD TAKEN CONCRETE STEPS TO DEMONSTRATE OUR  
OPPOSITION: (1) WE SUPPORTED SECURITY RESOLUTION 418

WHICH FOR THE FIRST TIME ESTABLISHED A MANDATORY ARMS EMBARGO AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA; (2) WE HAVE REDUCED THE SIZE OF OUR EMBASSY STAFF IN SOUTH AFRICA; (3) WE HAVE REDUCED THE AMOUNT OF EXIMBANK CREDITS AVAILABLE FOR INVESTMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA; AND (4) WE WERE EXPLORING WAYS TO ENCOURAGE AMERICAN COMPANIES IN SOUTH AFRICA TO MOVE TOWARDS THE IMPLEMENTATION OF CODES OF CONDUCT THAT WOULD MORE EFFECTIVELY PROVIDE ENHANCED OPPORTUNITIES FOR BLACKS IN THEIR EMPLOYMENT.

10. SENIOR DEPUTY DIRECTOR REPLIED GOIC WAS VERY PLEASED THE U.S. HAD FINALLY MADE EXPLICIT AND CONCRETE ITS OPPOSITION TO APARTHEID. HE ADDED, HOWEVER, THAT THE U.S. WOULD HAVE TO APPLY EVEN MORE PRESSURE ON SOUTH AFRICA.

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11. REFERRING TO THE LAST SESSION OF THE UNCHR, DALLEY STATED U.S. CONSIDERED IT A SUCCESS AND WAS PARTICULARLY SATISFIED WITH SOME OF THE RESULTS: (A) THE STRENGTHENING OF 1503 PROCEDURES; (B) THE BALANCED AND OBJECTIVE AGENDA AND DISCUSSION (FOR EXAMPLE, FOR THE FIRST TIME OTHER CASES THAN CHILE, SOUTH AFRICA AND ISRAEL WERE DISCUSSED, AND THE COMMISSION RESOLVED TO TAKE SPECIFIC ACTION CONSIDER HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN STATES SUCH AS CAMBODIA, UGANDA, ETHIOPIA, PARAGUAY AND EQUATORIAL GUINEA) AND (C) THE IDEA OF ESTABLISHING REGIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS MACHINERY AND STRENGTHENING EXISTING DOMESTIC HUMAN RIGHTS INSTITUTIONS. DALLEY ADDED SUCCESS FOR SESSION WAS LARGELY DUE TO THE LEADERSHIP OF AFRICAN STATES SUCH AS IVORY COAST. WITH RESPECT TO REGIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS MACHINERY, DALLEY INQUIRED ABOUT GOIC VIEWS.

12. SENIOR DEPUTY DIRECTOR REPLIED MORE PRECISE DEFINITION OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND OF THE FUNCTIONS AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF REGIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS MACHINERY WERE REQUIRED BEFORE AFRICAN STATES WOULD ACTIVELY UNDERTAKE THE CREATION OF REGIONAL MACHINERY. FOR EXAMPLE, WOULD A REGIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION HAVE AN INVESTIGATORY FUNCTION?

13. DALLEY AGREED IT WAS NECESSARY TO DEFINE THE PURPOSES AND FUNCTIONS OF A REGIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION BEFORE CREATING IT, BUT IT WAS IMPORTANT TO CONTINUE THE MOMENTUM TOWARD STRENGTHENING HUMAN RIGHTS MACHINERY. HE ADDED PROBLEM OF DEFINITIONS COULD BE ADDRESSED AT REGIONAL MEETINGS ON HUMAN RIGHTS SUCH AS THE ONE SCHEDULED IN KIGALI THIS JULY.

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14. WITH RESPECT TO PUERTO RICO, DALLEY STATED WE WERE CONCERNED THERE WOULD BE ANOTHER ATTEMPT IN THE COMMITTEE OF 24 TO REFER THE ISSUE OF PUERTO RICO TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY. WERE THIS TO OCCUR, THE ISSUE WOULD BE EXPLOITED BY CUBA AND OTHERS. THIS WOULD UNDERMINE CONTEXT FOR OTHER UN EFFORTS, NEGATIVELY AFFECT U.S. DOMESTIC PERCEPTIONS OF THE UN AND THEREBY IMPACT ON U.S. ABILITY TO HELP ACHIEVE SETTLEMENTS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. STATING THE U.S. WAS VERY GRATEFUL FOR IVORY COAST'S SUPPORT ON THIS ISSUE IN THE PAST, DALLEY ADDED WE HOPED IVORY COAST WOULD AGAIN SUPPORT OUR EFFORTS TO KEEP THE ISSUE OF PUERTO RICO OUT OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

15. DEPUTY DIRECTOR FOR UN AFFAIRS REPLIED THAT, WHILE INSTRUCTIONS TO GOIC DELEGATION HAD NOT YET BEEN PREPARED FOR THE APPROVAL OF PRESIDENT HOUPHOUET-BOIGNY, HE EXPECTED GOIC WOULD AGAIN SUPPORT U.S. EFFORTS REGARDING ISSUE OF PUERTO RICO.

16. AS REGARDS THE CONFERENCE ON RACISM THIS AUGUST, DALLEY STATED THE U.S. WOULD NOT PARTICIPATE DUE TO PREVIOUS LINKAGE BETWEEN RACISM AND ZIONIS. WE HOPED THE CONFERENCE WOULD AVOID A REAFFIRMATION OF OR A REFERENCE TO SUCH LINKAGE; OTHERWISE THE U.S. WOULD NOT BE BLE IN THE FUTURE TO PARTICIPATE IN ANY UN ACTIVITY EVEN REMOTELY CONNECTED TO THE DECADE ON RACISM AND U.S. DOMESTIC SUPPORT FOR OTHER UN EFFORTS TO SUPPORT ACTIVITIES AIMED AT THE ELEMINATION OF RACISM WOULD BE ERODED. DALLEY ASKED THAT GOIC DELEGATION WORK FOR A DECLARATION THAT DID NOT REFER TO OR RE-AFFIRM LINKAGE BETWEEN RACISM AND ZIONIS.

17. DEPUTY DIRECTOR FOR UN AFFAIRS REPLIED THAT HE TOOK NOTE OF OUR REQUEST, THAT GOIC SHARED OUR ATTITUDE  
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ON THE ISSUE AND THAT HE EXPECTED GOIC DELEGATION WOULD BE INSTRUCTED IN A MANNER SATISFACTORY TO THE U.S.

18. EXCHANGE OF VIEWS CONCLUDED WITH A FISCUSION OF THE MIDDLE EAST. DALLEY STATED THAT ACRIMONIOUS DEBATE IN THE UNGA UNDERMINED RATHER THAN ASSISTED NEGOTIATIONS

IN THE MIDDLE EAST. FURTHERMORE, THIS KIND OF DEBATE ALSO ERODED U.S. DOMESTIC SUPPORT FOR THE UN SYSTEM AND, THEREFORE, FOR U.S. GOALS IN THE UN SYSTEM, SOME OF WHICH WERE EQUALLY IMPORTANT TO AFRICAN STATES. DALLEY ASKED GOIC CONTINUE TO WORK WITH US TO ASSURE ISSUES ARE DEBATED ON THEIR MERITS, THAT PROPOSED RESOLUTIONS ARE BALANCED AND THT THE GENERAL DEBATE DOES NOT UNDERMINE MIDDLE EAST NEGOTIATIONS.

19. SENIOR DEPUTY DIRECTOR REPLIED THAT PRESIDENT HOUPHOUET-BOIGNY WAS THE FIRST TO AGREE THAT PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST MUST BE SOUGHT THROUGH DIALOGUE AND NEGOTIATIONS RATHER THAN THROUGH STERILE DEBATES AND FUTILE RESOLUTIONS. AS IN THE PAST, THE GOIC DELEGATION WOULD WORK CLOSELY AND COOPERATIVELY WITH THE U.S. ON THIS AND OTHER ISSUES.  
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## Message Attributes

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